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THE

SOLDIER'S RIGHT TO VOTE.

WHO OPPOSES IT? WHO FAVORS IT?

OR,

THE RECORD OF THE

M'CLELLAN COPPERHEADS

Against allowing the Soldier who fights, the Right to Vote
while fighting.

[PREPARED FOR THE UNION CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE,]

By William E. Chandler, of N. H.

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WORLD'S RIGHT TO LIFE



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THE HISTORY OF THE

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THE SOLDIER'S RIGHT TO VOTE.

WHO OPPOSES IT? WHO FAVORS IT?

If the Soldiers will Vote the Copperhead Ticket and Indorse the Chicago Surrender to Traitors because George B. McClellan is the Candidate for President, why don't the Copperheads advocate giving them the right so to vote.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

And his Friends are NOT afraid to Trust the Soldiers.

Why are George B. McClellan and his Friends afraid to Trust them?

SOLDIERS! LOOK AT THE COPPERHEAD RECORD!

No argument can be adduced more convincing to the candid mind that the real motives which actuate and control the McClellan politicians are base, unpatriotic, and known by themselves to be destructive of the best interest of the country, than their bitter and unyielding hostility entertained always, and boldly exhibited whenever they dare or are forced publicly to declare themselves against the right of the soldiers in the army to vote as well as fight; to exercise some control by voting over the management of that Government which they are fighting to preserve.

The Copperhead leaders know that the soldiers who are perilling their lives are undergoing bitter hardships, are witnessing the death of their comrades on the battle field for the salvation of the country, are not to be deceived in relation to the great issues which are involved in the mighty conflict of arms, now engaging the attention of the whole world, between the soldiers of a free Republic, of a People's Government, and the armies of a pro-slavery, rebellious despotism. Knowing, therefore, that the soldiers, if they vote in the field, will vote patriotically, regardless of old party ties, and that no glittering generalities of craftily worded letters of acceptance can blind the intelligent soldier to the essential treason of a party platform like that adopted at Chicago, and supported by every rebel and traitor, North and South, the Copperhead Democracy have not hesitated to op-

pose, by every means in their power, all attempts to confer upon soldiers in the field the right to vote.

The methods of this opposition of the Copperheads have been various. They fear the soldiers and therefore oppose their right to vote, secretly and by indirection when they can, but openly if they must. Early in the rebellion, when in some States the Democratic party pretended to support the war, they even went so far as likewise to pretend to a willingness to allow the soldiers to vote in the field, but when they believed they saw opportunities to make political capital out of the miseries of their country, to obtain political power for Democrats by reason of successive defeats of Union armies, and by the absence from the polls of Union voters on the battlefield, then they immediately extended those "constitutional scruples," which they have so hypocritically advanced against every distinctive administrative measure adopted by Abraham Lincoln for prosecuting the war with effect and putting down the rebellion, to all propositions to confer upon the soldiers in the field the right to vote.

They have pretended to be willing the soldiers should vote in the field if they might constitutionally do so, and yet have opposed amendments of the Constitution which would allow the right. They have affected to fear that allowing soldiers to vote in the field would be productive of frauds, but no possible safeguards against fraud that can be devised and proposed to them, are sufficient to remove their pretended fears. In fact it is an irresistible conclusion from the whole Copperhead record on the subject of the right of the soldier to vote in the field.

First. That the pretended constitutional scruples of the McClellan Democrats, their affected fear of frauds, and the advocacy of impracticable and destructive amendments have all been deceitful, base, false-hearted, and cowardly assaults in the rear upon the soldier; that what they are most afraid of is *not* the casting of *unconstitutional* and *illegal* votes in the field, but that casting of the *constitutional* and *legal* votes of the soldiers, which will in November overwhelm and annihilate McClellan, Pendleton and the infamous Chicago surrender to traitors.

Second. That the Copperhead leaders have had no confidence whatever in their boastings that McClellan will carry the vote of the Army, but at heart have known and felt that their infamous schemes of destroying the Union and establishing a southern confederate despotism could only be accomplished by *deceiving the people who will vote at home* and by depriving the SOLDIERS confronting the armies of the rebellion of the power to *defeat their treasonable plans by voting in the field.*

Third. That, therefore, although democrats at some time may have pretended, hypocritically, to favor the soldiers' right to vote while secretly attempting to prevent and destroy it, or may, through cowardly fear, have dared make no position where it would have been fruitless, yet that the *actual positive present position* of the Copperhead party and of George B. McClellan, who, holding his commission as Major General in the Union Army, asks for the suffrages of the soldiers of that army, is that of *open, undisguised, relentless hostility* to the right of the Union soldier to vote *simply and solely for the reason that they believe the great majority of the soldiers of the Army are not for George B. McClellan and the Copperheads, but are for ABRAHAM LINCOLN, the CONSTITUTION and the UNION.*

MAINE.

In the Pine Tree State with 30 Republican and 1 Democratic Senator and a 121 Republican and 29 Democratic representatives, the Copperheads, although bitterly hostile to the right of soldiers to vote in the field made only a show of opposition in the legislature to a proposed amendment of the State Constitution securing the right. The vote before the people, however, shows that even 17,000 majority for the Union candidate for Governor did not prevent the Copperhead hostility from manifesting itself.

In the whole State the vote was, Gov. Cony. 62,389; Howard, 46,476. Constitutional Amendment, Y'es, 64,430; No, 19,127.

The whole Union vote and about 2,000 other votes were cast for the amendment, about 20,000 Democrats boldly voted against it, and about half their voters did not vote at all.

In the counties, cities, and towns, where the vote for Howard was the largest, there was the largest vote against the amendment and the vote on the amendment strikingly corresponds to the vote for Governor.

In York county, always Democratic until one year ago, the vote was:

	CONY.	HOWARD.	YES.	NO.
York.....	6484	5903	6425	4024
Bangor, (the 2d city in the State)...	1668	791	1730	750
Alfred.....	153	156	150	150
Berwick.....	198	202	201	197
Dayton.....	74	103	74	100
Newfield.....	144	171	145	162
No. Berwick.....	138	192	142	183
Parsonfield.....	190	246	188	235
Sandford.....	210	267	214	258
Waterborough.....	180	236	180	225

And so the vote proceeds with no majorities against the amendment except in Copperhead towns.

JOSEPH HOWARD, the *Copperhead candidate for Governor*, voted boldly and openly against the amendment; also MANASSEH SMITH, candidate in 1861; PHINEAS BARNES, now a McClellan Democrat and a former candidate for Governor; JAMES W. BRADBURY, formerly Democratic United States Senator; JAMES S. WILEY, formerly Democratic member of Congress from the Bangor district; the editor of the *Saco Democrat*, and many other prominent Democrats.

If Maine had given 17,000 majority for JOSEPH HOWARD instead of for Governor Cony, would the Maine soldiers have voted on the 8th of November? Let the record answer.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

In the Granite State, the ancient Gibraltar of New England Democracy, the right for soldiers to vote in the field for Presidential electors and representatives in Congress, has been secured only by the most determined persistency on the part of the Union Republicans under most discouraging circumstances.

In 1862 the Union members of the Legislature attempted to pass a bill allowing soldiers to vote in the field for State and National officers. The bill was opposed by the Copperheads as unconstitutional and as "furnishing the means for the destruction of the freedom and purity of elections, for overthrowing our free institutions and establishing in their place—as chance may dictate—either anarchy or despotism." The only test vote was 165 Union yeas, 123 Copperhead nays; but the Supreme Court having decided the bill unconstitutional, the subject was postponed to the next session.

In 1864 a bill allowing soldiers to vote for Presidential electors and representatives in Congress, was introduced by the Union members and passed. The Supreme Court decided the same to be constitutional. The Copperheads opposed the bill in every possible form, and every motion relative to it was carried by a strict party vote,—about 175 Union to 105 Copperhead votes.

During the debate the remnant of the battle-flag of the New Hampshire Eleventh Regiment, which was rescued from the rebels in the desperate fight in the exploded mine at Petersburg, was brought into the Hall and received with prolonged cheers from the Republicans; *the Democrats remaining silent as the grave.*

WILLIAM LITTLE, a Democrat from Ward 5, Manchester, warned the Republicans to beware of passing the bill, for the Democracy were determined NOT TO SUBMIT to what they termed "violations of the Constitution" by the R-publicans, he asserting that attempts to pass soldier's voting bills were "violations of the Constitution."

JOHN G. SINCLAIR, also declared that *the Democracy of the country would NEVER SUBMIT to the result of an election decided against them by SOLDIERS' votes.*

After the passage of the bill the Copperheads induced the Governor to enter into an unfortunate intrigue with them and to attempt to veto the bill. The veto message was, however, sent to the House one day too late, and being sent in an unusual way, by a Copperhead member instead of the State Secretary, the House refused to receive it. Thereupon, the Copperheads created a mob on the floor of the House, interrupted business for several hours by riotous disturbances shouting—"REVOLUTION! REVOLUTION!" The Supreme Court finally decided that the veto message was sent too late, and that the bill was a law without the signature of the Governor; whereupon the Copperheads insulted the Court, and HARRY BINGHAM, now a Copperhead candidate for elector, has denounced the Court as a political brothel.

Ex-President *Franklin Pierce*, aided by his former law partner, *Josiah Minot*, *Edward W. Harrington*, Copperhead candidate for Governor, who hoped "*every Union soldier would come home in a box,*" and *John H. George*, who says the South cannot be conquered, and he thanks God for it, labored incessantly to defeat the soldiers' right to vote.

If the *Franklin Pierce*, *George B. McClellan* democracy controlled New Hampshire, how many of her soldiers would be permitted to vote in the field?

VERMONT.

In the Green Mountain State the Copperhead party is so small and weak that it dared not oppose the soldiers' right to vote which was promptly

secured to them by the Republican legislature. The Supreme Court have decided the bill to be constitutional only so far as relates to voting for President and Vice President and for members of Congress.

RHODE ISLAND.

In Rhode Island the right of the soldier to vote has been secured by an amendment of the Constitution which was feebly opposed by the Democratic party at the vote before the people, but the Copperheads of Rhode Island, like those of Vermont, are powerless for actual mischief.

CONNECTICUT.

Governor Buckingham, in 1862, urged the Connecticut legislature to pass a soldier's voting law. Such a bill was introduced and passed the Senate without opposition, it being unanimously Republican, but was bitterly opposed by the Copperheads in the House. They demanded, and the Unionists conceded, the insertion of a provision that the law should not take effect if determined by the Court to be unconstitutional; but after such provision was inserted the bill passed only by a strict party vote. The Court decided, by the casting vote of its Chief Justice, a member of the Copperhead McClellan party, that the bill was not constitutional and so the Copperheads defeated the soldiers' franchise for that year.

Immediately the Unionists commenced the work of amending the constitution, Governor Buckingham recommended and the Union members unanimsly favored it. The Copperheads unanimsly opposed it and fought every step of its progress. By a party vote it passed the successive legislatures and was submitted to the people. The Copperhead newspapers opposed it and openly appealed to their partisans to defeat it. By these efforts of the Copperheads a large vote was cast against it, but it was carried, thanks to the friends of Abraham Lincoln, by a majority of 10,000; and the soldiers of Connecticut will vote whether or not it suit such traitors as Thomas H. Seymour and Isaac Toucey.

NEW YORK.

The history of the struggle to secure the brave sons of the "Empire State" the right of suffrage, is fresh in the minds of all. On the 10th day of February, 1863, a bill was introduced into the Assembly to allow the soldiers to vote. On the 17th the Copperheads commenced their factious opposition to it by motions to adjourn, &c., hoping thereby to stave it off and defeat its passage. The Union Men, however, managed to secure a vote which resulted in 65 Union Republican yeas to 59 Copperhead nays.

On the next day, however, Governor Seymour came to the rescue of "his friends" by VETOING THE BILL! accompanying his veto with a message, which, for low craftiness and sophistry, defies competition, and is only equaled in its objects by another effort of his addressed to the rioters, plunderers, and murderers in New York city whom he styled as "MY FRIENDS."

The Union men of the Empire State continued their efforts to secure the soldiers the right to vote, and finally succeeded by an amendment of the Constitution to accomplish that result, although the McClellan De-

mocracy manifested the same persistent and determined opposition as their brother Copperheads in Pennsylvania and Ohio, by VOTING AGAINST THE AMENDMENT of the Constitution by which that right was secured.

To repay Governor Seymour for his perfidy to the Union soldier, the rebel agents at *Niagra and Chicago*, made him PRESIDENT AND CHIEF ORATOR of the McClellan Convention; although it was publicly known that he was in full fellowship with Vallandigham, the Woods, Long, and Harris, and their pet candidate for the Presidency.

Soldiers and Citizens of New York! are you willing to cast your votes for George B. McClellan and Horatio Seymour who have been against you from the beginning, and thereby give joy and comfort to the traitors at Richmond? Or will you vote for ABRAHAM LINCOLN and REUBEN E. FENTON, the standard bearers of Union, Liberty, and Law?

NEW JERSEY.

The action of those few States where the Democratic party have had majorities in the legislatures, is especially conclusive as to the hostility of the *McClellan Pendleton* party to the soldiers' right to vote. The session of the New Jersey legislature in the spring of 1864, was besieged with petitions presented by Union members, and signed by over *thirty-seven thousand* citizens, asking for the passage of a soldier's voting law. A carefully prepared bill was presented and advocated by the Union members. The Copperhead majority of the Committee on Elections reported against the bill. The minority report of Messrs. Jacob Birdsall and William A. Hancock, Unionists, stated most eloquently and forcibly the reasons why the bill should pass.

April 6, 1864. The bill was killed by the following vote: Union, yeas 19; Democratic, nays 31; among which were the vote of *Thomas Dunn English*, a notorious northern rebel, and *Daniel Corey*, who has been imprisoned in Fort Lafayette for treasonable practices.

Such is the record of the New Jersey Copperheads. Do the gallant New Jersey soldiers, the heroes who have fought under the brave and noble Phil. Kearney, know why they cannot vote against the Chicago surrender?

PENNSYLVANIA.

In the Keystone State, under old laws passed in 1813 and 1839, soldiers in the field were secured the right to vote, and exercised the right in the Mexican war. In 1861, also, the Union soldiers of Luzerne county voted for prosecuting attorney. The defeated candidate carried the question to the Supreme Court and that Court decided the laws to be unconstitutional and rejected the soldiers' votes.

The opinion was delivered by Judge George W. Woodward, who, in it declared that the law "opens a wide door for most odious frauds;" and insultingly asserted, in answer to the argument that soldiers meritoriously deserve to have their right of suffrages preserved and secured to them, "as a court of justice, we cannot feel the force of any such consideration. We have no bounty to grant to soldiers."

For Judge Woodward's zeal and alacrity in thus attacking the soldiers

and their right to vote, and for his declared sentiments *directly justifying the southern rebellion*, he was nominated by the Democratic party for Governor in 1863, and badly defeated by Governor Curtin. Just before the election *George B. McClellan* wrote the following letter :

ORANGE, N. J., October 12, 1864.

To Hon. Charles Biddle, Chairman Democratic Central Committee :

DEAR SIR: * * * * I desire to state that, having some days ago had a FULL conversation with Judge Woodward, I FIND THAT OUR VIEWS AGREED I regard his election as Governor of Pennsylvania as called for by the interest of the nation. * * * I would, were it in my power, give to Judge Woodward my voice and vote.

I am, very respectfully, yours,

GEORGE B. McCLELLAN.

The Unionists of the State—the soldiers' right to vote under the old laws having been destroyed by Judge Woodward's decision—immediately originated an amendment to the Constitution which in due course passed the Legislature in 1863. In 1864, as required by the Constitution, it again passed the legislature and was submitted to the people. The vote in the Senate was—yeas 18, Unionists and Republicans; nays 7, all Copperheads; and 8 Copperheads dodged. Two of the Copperheads were delegates to the Chicago Convention.

The majority before the people in favor of the amendment was 94,607, with the same results observable in the vote that existed in Maine. The largest majorities for the amendment were in the Republican strongholds, and the only majorities against it were in the Copperhead counties.

COPPERHEAD COUNTIES.

Majorities against soldiers voting.

Berks.....	1934
Columbia.....	1020
Cambria.....	514
Clearfield.....	783
Lehigh.....	1023
Monroe.....	1186
Northampton.....	698
Pike.....	674
Wayne.....	777

UNION COUNTIES.

Majorities for soldiers voting.

Lancaster.....	8933
Alleghany.....	8976
Bradford.....	4741
Erie.....	3943
Chester.....	4932
Indiana.....	2807
Delaware.....	2108
Tioga.....	3127
Susquehanna.....	2829

The Pennsylvania soldiers voted at the election in October and will vote for President and Vice President on the 8th of November, but do they owe their right to vote to the Copperhead party, to Judge *George W. Woodward*, or to *George B. McClellan*?

DELAWARE.

In little Delaware, in which the Copperheads and traitors still control the Legislature, of course the Union soldier has not been allowed the right to vote.

At a special session of the Legislature in 1862, Mr. H. H. Appleton, a Union member of the House, introduced a bill entitled, "An Act securing the right of suffrage to volunteers from this State." February 6, 1862, the vote was taken on its final passage and the bill was defeated—10 Union yeas, 11 Copperhead nays.

Such injustice as this towards the Union soldiers might be expected of a Legislature which by a strict party vote indefinitely postponed resolutions approving the conduct of Major Robert Anderson in defending Fort Sumter, which refuses to aid the poor and suffering families of Union volunteers, or to purchase a lot at the Gettysburg Cemetery for the interment of Delaware's noble dead.

Why should such Copperheads desire to allow the soldiers to vote?

OHIO.

In Ohio, at the beginning of the rebellion, by the patriotic and voluntary action of the Republicans in waiving their party organization, the State was carried at the election in 1861 by a large majority for the Union candidate for Governor, David Tod, and a legislature was chosen without reference to old party distinctions, containing a large Union majority, composed of nearly as many members of Democratic as of Republican antecedents, the former pretending to be warmly in favor of the prosecution of the war and of *soldiers' rights*. During the Legislative session, February 28, 1862, a soldier's voting bill was introduced and referred by the Speaker to three *war Democrats*, who had paid special attention to the subject, and professed extreme friendship for the bill. This committee retained the bill five weeks, and reported it only two days before the time fixed for adjournment, and too late for careful consideration, and by the votes of both parties and by general consent the bill was postponed to the next session.

At the session in 1863, the Democrats not daring to oppose the bill openly, endeavored to kill it by indirection. A Copperhead amendment was offered, that *no soldier's vote should be cast for an officer in the military service*, and voted down—18 Democratic yeas, 1 Democratic and 51 Union nays. The Copperheads endeavored to attach a particular amendment in the House and failed. The Senate adopted the same amendment, and in the House, the Copperheads knowing that a disagreement between the two Houses would defeat the bill entirely, now voted against their own amendment, which the House, to save the bill, consented to adopt, nearly all the Union members and 1 Democrat voting for it, and 23 Democrats against it.

In the first elections held after the passage of the law, there were many counties where the Democrats had a majority on the home vote, but the Union candidates were elected by the home and soldiers vote. In many such cases Copperhead county clerks unlawfully and fraudulently gave certificates of election to the defeated Copperhead candidates, and this disregard of the soldier's voting law caused many elections to be contested before the courts, and in the Legislature, where Copperhead candidates were determined to hold office against the will of a majority of the legal voters of their respective counties.

Before the Supreme Court the counsel prominent in attempting to defeat the soldier's right was *T. W. Bartley*, now a *McClellan* and *Pendleton* candidate for Elector at large. He not only argued that the bill was unconstitutional, but that it was impolitic and *destructive of the liberties of the people*, that allowing the citizen soldiery of the country, who have left their homes and are sacrificing their lives to save the liberties of the country, to vote would make the people "the slaves of despotic power!"

"There is not an instance upon record, in any age or country, in which popular government has been preserved any considerable length of time after the exercise of the elective franchise has been bestowed upon the army in the field." As if the free soldier voters of the Union are to be compared to the slavish population of old Rome or modern France, and the liberties of the people and popular government are dependent upon the political ascendancy of *Vallandigham*, *Pendleton*, and *Fernando Wood*, and the success of the bloody despotism of *Jefferson Davis*!

Fortunately the Supreme Court sustained the law. Judge Raney, *the only Democrat on the bench, alone dissenting*; and the soldiers of Ohio have the right to vote on the field, as their 40,000 votes for John Brough and 2,000 votes for *Clement L. Vallandigham* have apprised the country.

In the contested elections in the Legislature the Copperheads uniformly voted to deprive the soldiers of the right which they had exercised to sustain the most glaring frauds upon the ballot box, and to keep in office Copperheads against the will of the people and soldiers of Ohio, particularly in a case where a Copperhead had obtained his certificate by a forged poll-book, proved to be fraudulent by the oath of the captain, first lieutenant, and first sergeant of the company, who made the lawful return, and by a comparison of the forged with the genuine poll book and the muster roll of the company.

A bill being introduced into the Legislature to amend the former law and prevent fraud, was objected to by the Copperheads on the ground of the unconstitutionality of all soldier's voting bills, and was passed by a strict party vote, all the Union members voting for it, and nearly all the Copperheads against it.

Thus have the Democrats of Ohio, by delaying the passage of a soldier's voting bill, which at first they did not dare openly oppose, by disputing the constitutionality of the bill both before and after a decision against them by the court, by sustaining desperate and wicked frauds upon the soldiers' right, and opposing all measures designed to prevent a repetition of such frauds, proved the utter hypocrisy of their pretended sympathy with and friendship for the soldier; at last, taking a position against the soldiers' right to vote in any form, as boldly as *Clement L. Vallandigham*, *George H. Pendleton*, and *Alexander Long*, have declared their treason against the Constitution and Government for which the soldiers are fighting.

Is it any wonder that such men fear the *Ohio soldiers' right to vote*?

MICHIGAN.

In January, 1864, a bill allowing Michigan soldiers the right to vote during the present war and no longer, was originated and supported by the entire Union Republican party and resisted, upon the usual pretexts, by every Copperhead. The *Detroit Free Press*, and the entire Copperhead press, oppose the passage of the bill. *E. G. Morton*, of Monroe, the leading Democrat in the House of Representatives, opposed the bill in a lengthy speech. Senators *W. A. Clark* and *W. E. Werner*, Copperheads, imitating *Bartly*, of Ohio, said: "No Government ever survived the vote of its armies." February 3d, a Copperhead named *Gidley* moved that the title of the Act be: "A bill to teach our soldiers in the field their political duty, our people a disregard of Constitution and law, and to make our

elections a farce." But the Union Men adhered to the bill, answered fairly all the Copperhead arguments, and passed the bill by a party vote—19 Union, 10 Copperhead Senators; 59 Union, 23 Copperhead Representatives voting.

Lucius Patterson, a leading Copperhead and delegate to a Democratic Convention in Kent county, used, in reference to the Copperhead State nominations, the following language: "We must make a strong ticket, and if *these damned soldiers* don't get back to vote, we shall carry the State."

George W. Peck, a former member of Congress, the most prominent Democrat in the State, and chairman of the Michigan delegation at the Chicago Convention, said in a speech in March, 1863, before the Lansing Democratic Association:

"You Black Republicans began this war. You have carried it on for two years. You have sent your HELL HOUNDS down South to devastate the country, and what have you done? You have not conquered the South. You NEVER CAN conquer them. And why? Because they are our brethren."

Such men, and the party to which they belong, could not well do otherwise than oppose the right of soldiers in the field to vote.

ILLINOIS.

Illinois is one of those States where by unjust districting, the Copperheads, although repudiated by the popular vote, have retained control of the Legislature, and have therefore prevented the passage of a soldier's voting law. Governor Richard Yates, in January, 1863, forcibly urged the Legislature to pass such a law, and petitions for the same result poured into the Legislature from all parts of the State. The Union members urged action, the Copperheads delayed it. The petitions were referred by Copperhead votes to the Judiciary Committee which made no report. The Unionists offered resolutions demanding a report, which at last came. The Copperhead majority of course opposing the bill as unconstitutional, and asserting that to invest the soldier with the right to vote, would be *dangerous to public liberty*. The Union minority claimed that the proposed law was constitutional, and denounced the Copperheads for defaming the soldiers who were perilling life and limb for the benefit of the common country and humanity.

In the debate and on the vote the Union members supported the bill, and all the Democrats opposed it. One prominent Democrat said: "I will never vote to allow the soldiers the right to *tyrannize over me*. Who are these soldiers? They are *organized ruffians and thieves* sent by Lincoln into the South on an *Abolition crusade*."

The Union members urged that a soldier's voting law be passed, to be void if the Supreme Court decided it to be unconstitutional, but the Copperheads, although a majority of the Court were Democrats, defeated this proposition. All the Union newspapers of the State advocated the measure, and the Democratic papers opposed it.

Thus, in the home of Abraham Lincoln and of the lamented Stephen A. Douglass, who on his dying couch said: "*A man cannot be a true Democrat unless he is a loyal patriot*," Copperheads calling themselves Democrats have prevented such men as the gallant John A. Logan and the noble soldiers of Illinois from voting because it would be "*dangerous to public liberty*."

WISCONSIN.

In Wisconsin, in the fall of 1862, Governor Solomon called an extra session of the Legislature for the purpose of increasing the soldiers' pay, and allowed them the right to vote in the field. In his message he said :

"The views of these brave and patriotic men should be heard through the ballot-box and should have proper weight in shaping the destinies of our imperilled country. Justice seems to demand that they should be rewarded in a different manner for their patriotism than by a loss of one of the most important rights of citizenship, especially in the present crisis."

The Copperheads denounced the bill as "one of the most dangerous and mischievous political measures ever devised," and also opposed it as unconstitutional. The Attorney General of State furnished the Assembly with a clear and convincing opinion, that the bill was constitutional, but the Copperheads still opposed the bill, their newspapers attacked it, and parliamentary tactics were resorted to in order to defeat it; but at last, in September, 1862, it passed—19 Unionists to 7 Copperheads in the Senate, and 52 Unionists to 40 Copperheads in the Assembly.

THE CONCLUSION OF THE WHOLE MATTER.

An inquiry relative to the right to vote of the soldiers from other loyal States, whose record on this subject has not been stated, would not materially alter the general conclusions to be drawn from a survey of the whole field.

In Massachusetts the present constitution does not allow the passage of a soldiers' voting law, and the process of amending the constitution is so difficult that the right could not be secured to the soldier in less than two or three years.

In California, Iowa, Minnesota, and Missouri, by the efforts of the Unionists, and against the opposition of the Copperheads, the soldiers' right to vote has been more or less perfectly secured.

In Indiana the Legislature, controlled by treasonable Copperheads who have resisted every attempt of the people's Governor, Oliver P. Morton, to raise men and money for the support of the Government and the destruction of the rebellion, has refused the Union soldier the right to vote.

The conclusion of the whole matter may be stated in a few words :

ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND ANDREW JOHNSON ARE FRIENDS OF THE SOLDIERS' RIGHT TO VOTE.

The Union Republicans of the loyal States have uniformly and persistently advocated the soldiers' right to vote. In States where the Unionists have had a majority they have originated soldiers' voting bills; their newspapers and public speakers have urged their passage; if constitutional objections have been made they have contended for their constitutionality in legislatures and before courts; if real constitutional difficulties have existed they have proposed and carried through the necessary constitutional amendments; and, at last, after encountering innumerable difficulties and overcoming unyielding Copperhead hostility, the right of the Union soldier to vote for Presidential electors has been established in the controlling States

of NEW YORK, PENNSYLVANIA, and OHIO, and (excepting Massachusetts for reasons before stated) IN EVERY OTHER STATE WHERE THE UNION REPUBLICAN PARTY HAS HAD COMPLETE POLITICAL CONTROL. In short, ABRAHAM LINCOLN and his supporters stand to-day as the *distinct, positive and unqualified* CHAMPIONS OF THE SOLDIERS' RIGHT TO VOTE. Into the hands of the Union soldiers in the field they have placed the decision of the Presidential contest of 1864, and do not fear to await the result!

GEORGE B. McCLELLAN AND GEORGE II. PENDLETON ARE ENEMIES OF THE SOLDIERS' RIGHT TO VOTE.

On the other hand the McClellan Democrats of the North have been from the beginning of the rebellion persistent and determined opponents of the soldiers' right to vote. During the first year of the war, and in one or two States where they have been in a hopeless minority, they have made their opposition secretly or upon hypocritical pretences. But with only this qualification the Copperhead leaders have attacked the soldiers' right at all times, in all places, and under all circumstances; denouncing soldiers' voting laws as *unconstitutional*, and if constitutional, as *inexpedient*, *impolitic*, and **DANGEROUS TO LIBERTY**; attempting to defeat them by dishonest and disgraceful expedients; and besides and worse than this malignant hostility to their right to vote, **ATTACKING, SLANDERING, AND DEFAMING THE SOLDIERS THEMSELVES**, whose absence fighting against rebels at the South, prevents them from repelling these cowardly assaults from rebels at home. These McClellan Democrats have opposed the soldiers' right to vote in every State where the right has been established by Union majorities, and in ILLINOIS, INDIANA, NEW JERSEY, and DELAWARE, the only States where there has been an absolute Copperhead legislative majority, notwithstanding the earnest efforts of the Unionists of those States, the soldiers have been *refused and defrauded of their just and constitutional right to vote*. In short George B. McClellan, now a Major-General in the Union Army, and his supporters stand to-day as *open, bitter malignant ENEMIES OF THE RIGHT OF THE SOLDIERS OF THAT UNION ARMY TO VOTE*. In the hands of these noble soldiers upon whose faithfulness and bravery, upon whose sufferings and death depend the momentous question whether there shall be saved a Constitution, a Union, or a country for the American people, the McClellan Copperheads dare not also trust the decision whether ABRAHAM LINCOLN or Major-General GEORGE B. McCLELLAN shall be the next President of the United States.

SOLDIERS OF THE UNION, upon your action depends the fate of this nation. You can by bullet and bayonet destroy the southern rebellion and secure the blessings of peace and a restored and perpetual Union to yourselves and the people of the whole country. You will also decide the result of the Presidential election now at hand. In the great central States, which will settle the contest, and in most of the other loyal States the soldiers have been secured the right to vote by the persistent efforts of those Union citizens, who believe that those who fight for their country, should also be allowed to vote while fighting. The political sentiment which will, therefore, be formed in the army, will long before the election

send to the people at home a moral impulse, which will have a controlling influence upon the home vote, and determine the result in the country.

With these great results in your hands—the destruction of the rebellion and the election of rulers of the nation—it is the hope and faith of every true Union citizen that while with victorious arms you are conquering the rebellion in your front, you will also by emphatic and patriotic votes rebuke the enemies in the rear, who would seek to negotiate a peace by the surrender of all that your valor has conquered, and that you will elect those candidates whose nomination was not cheered, and whose election will not be applauded by the rebel armies—ABRAHAM LINCOLN and ANDREW JOHNSON.

CITIZENS OF THE UNION, you are called upon for the first time to vote for a President and Vice President while the country is engaged in a war for its existence among the nations of the earth. Your soldiers in the field have been secured the right of suffrage, and will vote on the 8th of November. Will you vote as conscientiously and as fearlessly as they? The questions at issue in the political contest are the same as these for which they are fighting. Let not the people at home desert their soldiers in the army, but let them ascertain their sentiments, realize their convictions, and let the verdict on election day show that the PEOPLE and the SOLDIERS are *one and undivided*, opposed to TREASON and REBELLION, opposed to COWARDLY SURRENDER and DISHONOR, and in favor of maintaining, at all hazards, *without compromise with traitors in arms*, the CONSTITUTION AND THE UNION OF THE UNITED STATES.

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1864. UNION CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE.

Hon. E. D. MORGAN, of New York.
 " JAS. HARLAN, of Iowa.
 " L. M. MORRILL, of Maine.
 (*Senate.*)

Hon. E. B. WASHBURNE, of Illinois.
 " R. B. VAN VALKENBURG, N.Y.
 " J. A. GARFIELD, of Ohio.
 " J. G. BLAINE, of Maine.
 (*House of Representatives*)

E. D. MORGAN, *Chairman.* JAS. HARLAN, *Treasurer.* D. N. COOLEY, *Sec'y.*

COMMITTEE ROOMS, *Washington, D. C., Sept. 2, 1864.*

DEAR SIR: The Union Congressional Committee, in addition to the documents already published, propose to issue immediately the following documents for distribution among the people:

1. McClellan's Military Career Reviewed and Exposed.
2. George H. Pendleton, his Disloyal Record and Antecedents.
3. The Chicago Copperhead Convention, the Men who Composed and Controlled it.
4. Base Surrender of the Copperheads to the Rebels in Arms.
5. The Military and Naval Situation and the Glorious Achievements of our Soldiers and Sailors.
6. A Few Plain Words with the Private Soldier.
7. What Lincoln's Administration has done.
8. The History of McClellan's "Arbitrary Arrest" of the Maryland Legislature.
9. Can the Country Pay the Expenses of the War?
10. Doctrines of the Copperheads North identical with those of the Rebels South.
11. The Constitution Upheld and Maintained.
12. Rebel Terms of Peace.
13. Peace to be Enduring, must be Conquered.
14. A History of Cruelties and Atrocities of the Rebellion.
15. Evidences of a Copperhead Conspiracy in the Northwest.
16. Seward's Auburn Speech.
17. Schurz's Speech.
18. Copperhead votes in Congress.
19. "Leave Pope to get out of his Scrape."
20. Shall we have an Armistice?

The above documents will be printed in English and German, in eight or sixteen page pamphlets, and sent postage free, according to directions, at the rate of one or two dollars per hundred copies. The plans and purposes of the Copperheads having been disclosed by the action of the Chicago Convention, they should at once be laid before the loyal people of the country. There is but two months between this and the election, and leagues, clubs, and individuals should lose no time in sending in their orders.

Remittances should be made in Greenbacks or drafts on New York City, payable to the order of James Harlan.

Address—

Free.

Hon. JAMES HARLAN,
Washington, D. C.

Very respectfully, yours, &c.,
 D. N. COOLEY, *Secretary*





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